

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 057529

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ORIGIN SS-30

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DRAFTED BY EUR/CE: S GEORGE:BCM

APPROVED BY EUR - MR HARTMAN

EUR - MR STABLER

C - MR. SONNENFELDT

S/S - WHLUERS

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 057529

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: WB

SUBJ: BERLIN

IN RECENT CONVERSATION WITH FRG AMBASSADOR, ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN ASKED IF EGON BAHR VISIT TO MOSCOW HAD BROUGHT ABOUT ANY CHANGE IN FRG READING OF BERLIN PROBLEM AND BEST COURSE OF ACTION FROM THAT WHICH OBTAINED WHEN SECRETARY DISCUSSED MATTER WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SCHEEL MARCH 3. ON MARCH 20 VON STADEN LEFT WITH HARTMAN PAPER QUOTED BELOW IN RESPONSE THIS REQUEST.

"1. SINCE SCHEEL-KISSINGER TALKS OUR ASSESSMENT OF BERLIN PROBLEM NOT CHANGED.

"2. WE ATTRIBUTE ESSENTIAL SIGNIFICANCE TO THE MAINTENANCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF TIES BETWEEN FRG AND BERLIN. SOVIET UNION OBVIOUSLY CONTINUES TO STRIVE FOR STRICT SEPARATION BETWEEN FRG AND BERLIN. SU REGARDS PROVISION THAT BERLIN FORMS NO CONSTITUENT PART OF FRG AS DIRECTLY OPERATIVE AND AS A PREVAILING PRINCIPLE. THEREFORE, SOVIET UNION IGNORES THE LINKAGE-STATEMENT OF THE FOUR POWER

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 057529

AGREEMENT.

"WE CONSIDER IT IMPORTANT NOT TO WITHDRAW FROM PRINCIPAL POSITIONS VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION. WE WELCOME THE

THREE POWERS' FIRM REFUSAL OF SOVIET ATTACKS AGAINST THE INTENDED ESTABLISHMENT OF A FEDERAL ENVIRONMENTAL OFFICE.

"3. WE KNOW, HOWEVER, THAT MEASURES OF OUR GOVERNMENT REGARDING BERLIN, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO THE FEDERAL PRESENCE, CANNOT ONLY BE ASSESSED BY THEIR LEGAL CONFORMITY WITH THE FOUR-POWER-AGREEMENT BUT ALSO UNDER THE VIEWPOINT OF POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY. WE CONSIDER THE BERLIN-AGREEMENT A BALANCED COMPROMISE. WE HAVE TO PROCEED CAUTIOUSLY IN ORDER NOT TO JEOPARDIZE THE BALANCE AND BY THAT TRIGGER COUNTER-MEASURES OF THE SOVIET UNION.

"4. PARTICULARLY THIS MATTER UNDERLINES THE IMPORTANCE OF EARLY AND COMPREHENSIVE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE THREE POWERS. BASIS FOR THE CONSULTATION IS ARTICLE 6 OF THE PARIS TREATIES. ACCORDING TO THIS THE FRG COOPERATES WITH THE THREE POWERS TO FACILITATE THE FULFILMENT OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES.

"5. AS TO THE INTERPRETATION OF THE FOUR-POWER-AGREEMENT WE FOLLOW THE VIEWS WHICH THE THREE POWERS CONVEY TO US. REGARDING THE INTERPRETATION ONLY THEY AS SIGNATORY STATES ARE THE SOVIET UNION'S COMPETENT COUNTERPARTS.

"THIS PRINCIPAL ATTITUDE OF MY GOVERNMENT IS NOT AFFECTED IF IT TRIES TO FIND PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS TO INDIVIDUAL DIFFICULTIES IN THE FIELD OF THE FOREIGN REPRESENTATION TO WHICH IT IS ENTITLED."

OUR INITIAL REACTION IS THAT THIS FORMULATION IS SATISFACTORY. WE NOTE, HOWEVER, IT DOES NOT ADDRESS QUESTION OF TEMPORARY MORATORIUM OR TACTICS TO BE USED IN INFORMING SOVIETS. PRIOR TO SECRETARY'S NEXT VISIT BONN, AMBASSADOR SHOULD DISCUSS THIS MATTER WITH SCHEEL AND ASCERTAIN WHETHER FRG INTENTIONS REMAIN AS EXPRESSED BY SCHEEL IN MARCH 3 CONVERSATION.

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SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 057529

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